c: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NVS Tzeltal NV9

utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitan*) it is common to see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ocozingo northward.

Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*tzitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says: "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1908, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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301
531

FIG. 1—PARAJE REPRESENTATIVES VISITING THE CEREMONIAL CENTER OF TENEJAPA
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 200]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

142
291
302
531

FIG. 2—TENEJAPA WOMAN AND CHILD. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 204]

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or tecomate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed 352 (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four [513] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat [735] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for [415] clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 798 The most important article is the altar with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 184 Each community has its own style of clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the 291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-ku*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they 301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces 291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes

[P. 208 - A]

291 184 a typical outfit with special characteristics. For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 [484] [487] [492] Men and pack animals are the principal carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is crossed in all directions by narrow trails. Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.

482 147 [565] 492

491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed.

474 493 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutuh. Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

142
291
301
302

FIG. 3—INDIAN GIRL, FINCA EL REAL.
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P 209-B]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Aguacatenango

142
291
302

FIG. 4—WOMEN FROM AGUACATENANGO (Copyright, Gertrude Duby)

[P 210-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

142
291
415
302
342

FIG. 5—TENEJAPA GROUP WITH VESSELS CONTAINING CHICHA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P.214-A]

4. Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
794
534
291
292

FIG. 7.—CARGO OFFICIALS, AMATENANGO DEL VALLE. Note ceremonial hats and drum with which church functions are announced. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 222-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283).

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.

FIG. 279—Huxumachital, Chia. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed themselves always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

Fig. 290—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajón girls.

Fig. 291—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajón man and boy.

648 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said 771 of the outside influences that do 793 so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be [142] shown later, in many ways they [291] are still unconverted. It may [301] be said, briefly, that they ac- [302] knowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. → The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this [142] influence was intelligently and [291] beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their [302] troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out. →

648 The Hacienda system has 241 caused the formation of many 361 small villages, as has been said 466 above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

amazing industries in the world. In addition, most men own smooth-bore flint-lock muskets, a few having progressed to percussion caps. The bow and arrow occurs occasionally as a child's toy.

The Bachajon men dress in cotton clothing, made of material bought in Ocosingo, or, more rarely, of home weave (fig. 284). The shirt is cut without tails, the trousers are of European type save that they tie with a string and have no buttons. Ordinarily they are worn rolled up above the knee. Over the trousers is worn a sash of native weave, red with fringed ends, and often decorated with black and yellow design in lines, sometimes forming a plaid effect. The sash is wound around, crossing in front, then turned back on itself, and the ends tucked under behind, so that they hang down below the shirt (fig. 285).

FIG. 284—El Encanto, Chis. A Bachajon Medicine Man.

Shirts of native weave occasionally have fine coloured lines running through them. The opening, which runs about two-thirds of the way down the front, the cuffs, and the seams at the shoulders may be decorated with very simple stitching. Down the front is a row of small buttons, coloured if possible, not all of which are for use. The most admired arrangement seems to be an alternation, such as red, black, white, repeated, although cases were observed in which no two were alike. These buttons are bought at the stores.

Sandals, *tep*, are ordinarily of leather, a thick sole with simple heel-toe string and loop. The leather is usually bought ready-cut. Formerly they were made of *mahagua* bast wicker-work, in form corresponding to that found in Basket-Maker sites of the Southwestern United States,* and these are still occasionally woven. The finest specimens are dyed red with a bark. Bast sandals are called *conak* (fig. 286).

*Kidder and Guernsey, 1919, Page 100 et seq.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

291 Their hats are a smaller-brimmed version of the Mexican sombrero, plaited by the men out of straw. The long plait is stitched in a spiral with *ixtle* fibre or hennequen. They may be decorated with coloured ribbons.

302 Hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead.

291 The Bachajon women get themselves up a little more gaily, in a dark blue skirt and prettily embroidered blouse. Both are made of materials purchased in the stores. The skirt, *tsekel*, made of the blue cotton from San Cristóbal, is in the form of a cylinder, decorated along the seams, with parti-coloured stitching, red, white, green, and yellow. Naturally, it is a great deal too full at the waist; this fullness is taken up with a twist, which is then tucked in, holding the skirt in position without disaster.

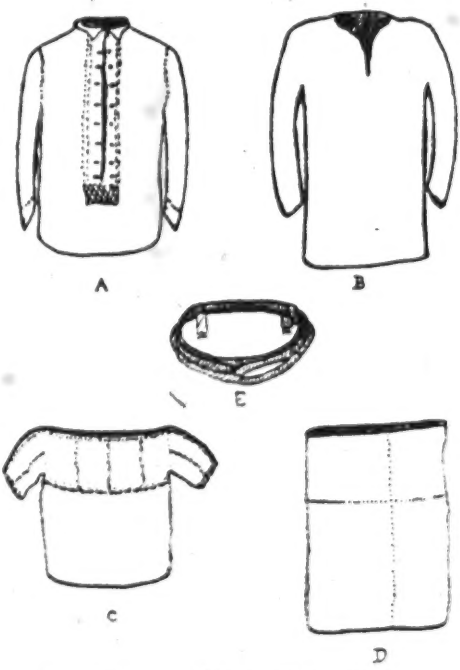


Fig. 291.—Costumes, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.

A. Skirt, Bachajon.
B. Man's shirt, Ocosingo Valley.
C. Woman's blouse, Bachajon.
D. Woman's skirt, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.
E. Sash.

The blouse, *kuul*, is of white cotton, the neck open from shoulder to shoulder, with a short sleeve coming half-way to the elbow. Embroidery of red and blue thread, or an appliqué of stamped tape bought in the stores, outlines the neck and shoulder seams, the edge of the sleeves, and the upper part of the front of the blouse. The bottom is tucked in under the skirt.

302 The women do their hair in one or two braids, which may be decorated with red or yellow ribbon. Ordinarily it is very neatly combed and parted down the middle. Sometimes it is allowed to hang unbraided, but gathered with a pin or ribbon just behind the head.

291 Curiously enough, the Indians in Ocosingo Valley, although more in contact with the Ladino people, have a less European costume.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

tume. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, bought at the local stores, is worn.

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitan.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm-roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287).

FIG. 286.—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens.

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai*, *tcyapai*, or *chichon*, *ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centimeters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as possible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

FIG. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves. It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivaca

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common [135] forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum*, ("bees-wax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

She formed the base of her pot rapidly in a saucer-like clay form, *hutstahibe* ("rest"). When the bottom was finished, she took it out and laid it on a broad leaf. The work progressed surprisingly quickly and without pause, the potter's hands moving with great speed and precision; the slapping sound as she patted the clay into position was unceasing. The clay was put on in slabs and built upwards, contrary to the coiling technique of the Southwest, the bowl on its leaf being turned rapidly as she worked around the sides. The finishing was done with her hands. The completed bowl was symmetrical, but not very smooth. It was then set in the sun to dry (fig. 298).

FIG. 297.—Sivacá, Chis. The men of the town with the Alcalde on the left.

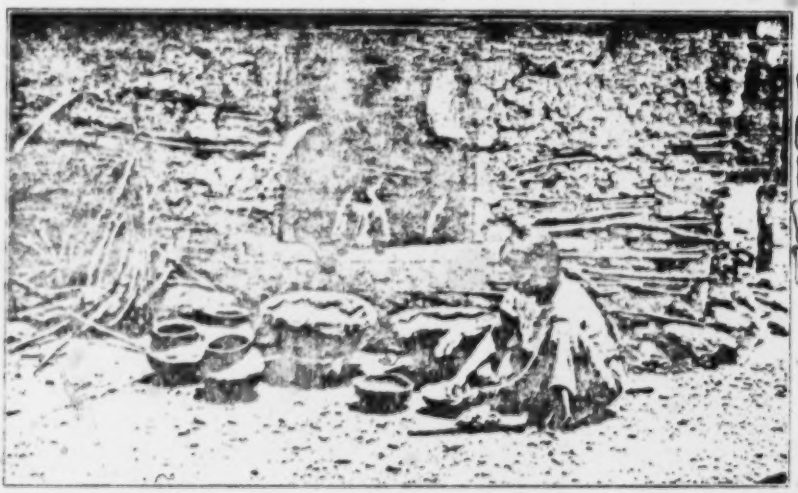
The larger forms are started in a flat, gourd dish, and the *tscts* bowls (see below) in an ordinary drinking gourd. Large tubs, when drying, are protected by leaves covering the rim, and are placed on leaves in the gourd dishes used as forms. The leaves are to prevent their drying too quickly and cracking. When cracks do occur, they are filled in with fresh clay. After enough pots are ready, there is a baking, apparently a community affair. I was told that the pottery was ranged in a line, the pine-fuel being laid up in an A-roof over it, forming a long tunnel, through which the draft ensures a brisk fire. One would expect from such a process that the vessels would be much blackened from contact with the fuel, which was not the case in the new ones that I examined, all having an even

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.



[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash: after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom.
B. Pok et.
C. Tsameta.
D. Hor'mo.
E. Hutstahibe.
F. Tseta.
G. Awaliko.
H. Tcistcinaix.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—"*dice que tiene verguenza*" — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516]

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pětět*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

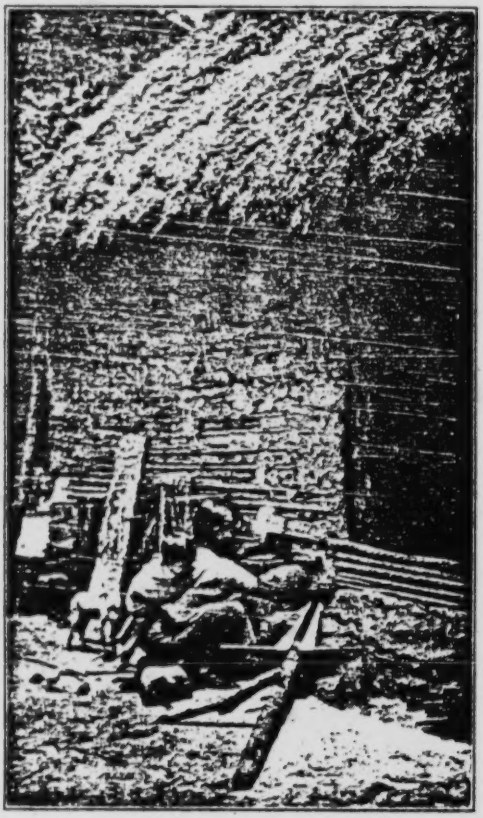


FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chia. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holĕl,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*Holĕl is one of a large class of words ending in -el, -ĕl, or -il, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. tal-ĕl, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and veniendo. Hol-ĕl primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. 193

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313).

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging.

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and

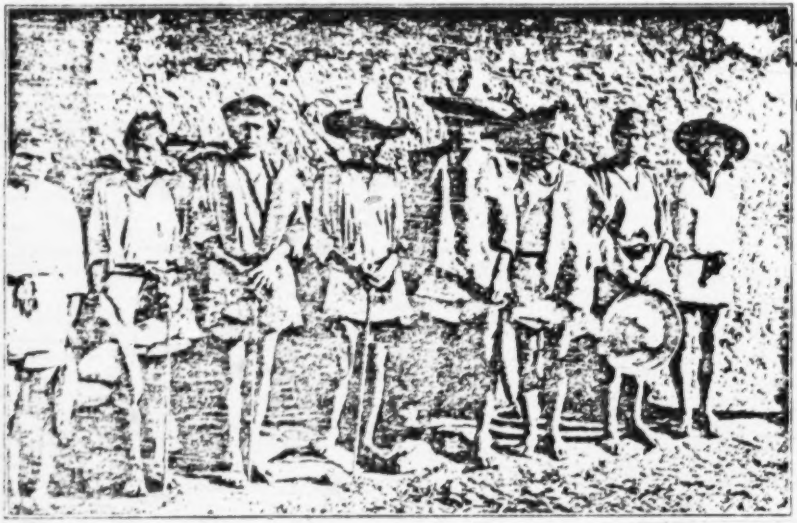


FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

FIG. 314.—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples.

Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields. We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *yuc-xcal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"), a *tzets* bowl of

FIG. 315.—Tenango, Chis. Woman's head-dress.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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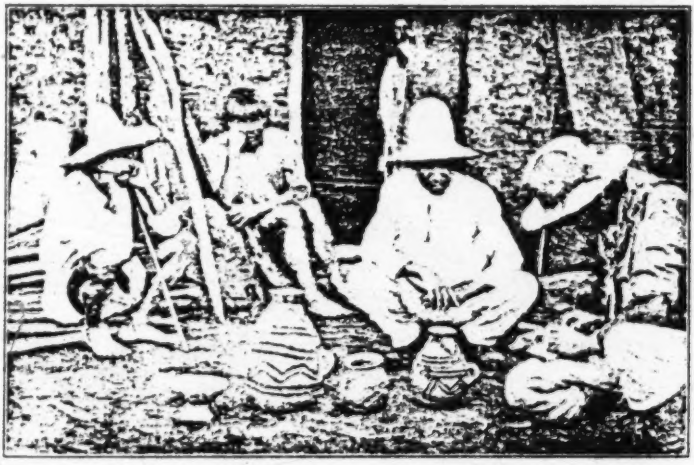

Fig. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the
824] houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the
439 distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called *"chuj,"* which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

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FIG. 321.—Cargadores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores*, under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1887; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarised here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,597	1,722	1,462	260	75	15	9	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	76.3	86.4	68.0	18.3
FACIAL INDEX	91.6	94.5	83.0	20.6
NASAL INDEX	68.8	102.2	64.1	38.3

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

FIG. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal*, and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Commandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores* low chatter-

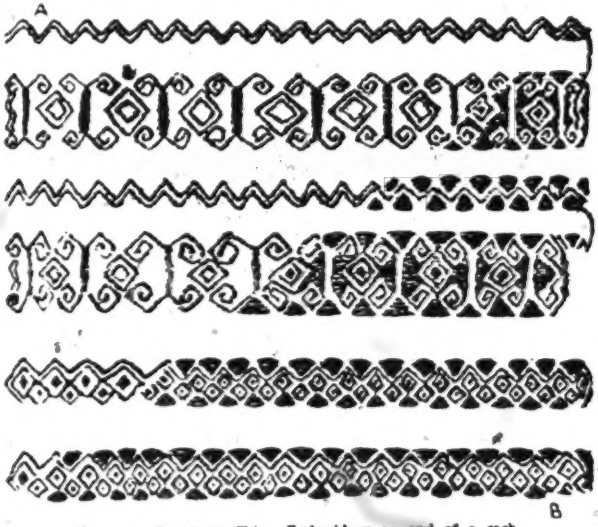

FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chis. Embroidery on end of a sash. A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

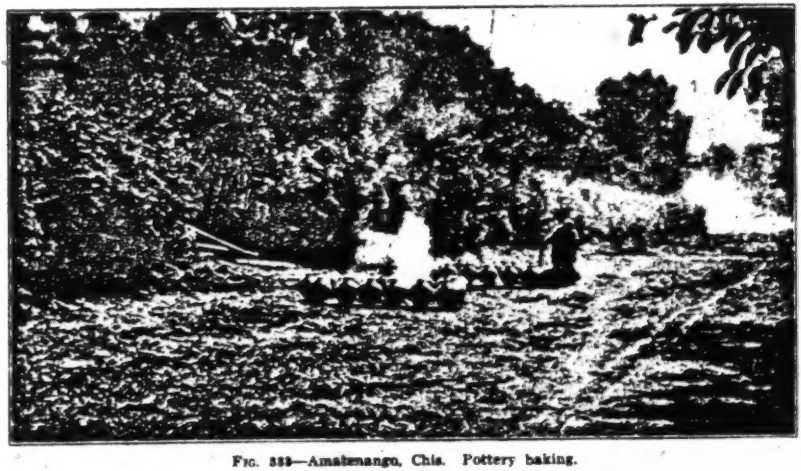

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

• [291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 787 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 776 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits.

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market.

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work.

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Houses are built of materials locally produced or gathered from communal resources, but new construction materials, such as tiles, require cash outlay. The average house area is thirty-six square meters divided into two main rooms. Building is usually done in February or March. After the

TABLE 12. Clothing Expenditure and Origin

	Price (pesos)	*Place of origin*
Men's clothing		
Kotonču from Guatemala	60	Huehuetenango
Kotonču from Mexico	40	Comitán
Shirt worn by elders	60	San Bartolomé
Underpants	15	San Bartolomé
High-backed sandals	25	San Cristóbal
Wrapped pants	25	Teopisca
Tailored shirt	30	Teopisca
Factory-made shirt	7	San Cristóbal and Comitán
Straw hats	10	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Factory-made pants	15	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Belt	5	Teopisca, San Cristóbal, and Comitán
Sash	7	Comitán
Huaraches	20	San Cristóbal
Women's clothing		
Wrapped skirt	40–60	Comitán
Huipile, factory-made cloth	50	San Cristóbal
Huipile, hand-loomed cloth	60	San Bartolomé
Reboza	12–16	Comitán
Apron	5	San Cristóbal
Children's clothing		
Girl's skirt	7	Teopisca
Girl's blouse	5	Teopisca
Boy's shirt	3.5	Teopisca
Boy's hat	3–4	Teopisca, San Cristóbal
Boy's pants	5	Teopisca

materials have been collected, the construction of the house frame takes about eight days' work with the cooperation of five or six men. Filling in the walls with mud takes another three days. Table 13 gives the cost of materials and transportation for one house built during my stay.

The biggest change in housing has been in the roofs. The old type of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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177
[153] I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for example, [291] tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial context: kotonču [096] is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds [415] are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

[P. 198-C]

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Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

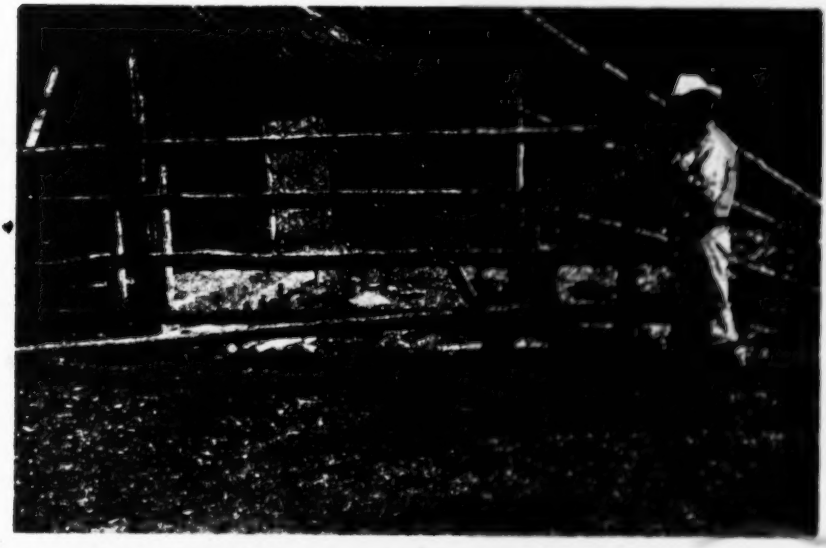

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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-D]

323
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Plate 5. Men assisting the women of their household in the firing of canteros, or water jugs. They have just removed the still-smoldering logs which were propped on the outer perimeter of the pyramid of jugs.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-E]

142
323
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516
415

Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.[1]

[1] (correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

[P.198-G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P 198-H]

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Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez.

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himtol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.*

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.*

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.*

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts.

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).*

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal *(literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"), the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town-held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo*, pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʔontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

855 862 883 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 868 562 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 562 [291] After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.